

CHURCH AND STATE NEWSLETTER

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Spellman's Strategic Retreat Just Double-Talk, NCWC Policy Shows

"For a clear understanding of the state-aid-to-schools controversy read this expert article by (the) Rev. Wm. E. McManus," boasted the cover of a pamphlet recently introduced into evidence at a stormy House committee meeting by Joseph M. Dawson, national Baptist public relations director and recording secretary of POAU. The "expert article" was the text of an address given by Father McManus before the Catholic Press Association last year, and later published and given wide circulation, by the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Chairman John Lesinski, of the House Committee on Education and Labor, had called an "informal conference" of the committee after other committee members had become increasingly critical of his role in blocking a vote on the aid-to-education bills. Father McManus himself was invited to the meeting along with his colleague, E. J. Butler, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Dr. Dawson. Dr. Dawson sat next to Father McManus. When the latter repeated the assertion recently made by Francis Cardinal Spellman after his ill-fated crusade against Mrs. Roosevelt, to the effect that the Catholic hierarchy only seeks "auxiliary services" to parochial schools, Dr. Dawson produced Father McManus' own pamphlet and quoted from it as follows: "*I doubt . . . whether for some time the majority of the American people will allow their government to grant full support to parochial schools, but I am confident that an ever-increasing number of our fellow-Americans will give a sympathetic hearing to our request for fringe benefits like bus rides and text books.*" In other words," Dr. Dawson commented, "for the present the Catholics will be content with preliminary aids but will eventually expect full aid!"

It was only with considerable difficulty that Dr. Dawson managed to express his view at all, for Rep. Lesinski—who opened the hearing by stating that he was a Roman Catholic and agreed with the position of his church—attempted to shut the POAU spokesman off with the imperious announcement that he would not tolerate any "intrusion of the religious question." As a matter of fact, Lesinski had not included the name of Dr. Dawson or any other Protestant leader in his original list of witnesses, but later added Dr. Dawson's

name with reluctance under pressure from some of his colleagues on the committee.

When Rep. Lesinski persisted in his efforts to conduct a one-sided conference, Dr. Dawson withdrew from the affair, stating that he had devoted much of his life to the cultivation of good will among all religious groups, and did "not propose to stand for the suppression of free speech and a candid confrontation of issues vital to legal action in our Republic."

Rep. Andrew Jacobs of Indiana was one of the committee members who protested most vigorously against Rep. Lesinski's high-handed tactics, although Jacobs, too, is a Roman Catholic. In a statement which appeared earlier in the *Congressional Record*, Rep. Jacobs had declared: "Religious freedom is a two-way street. We are free to establish and utilize our parochial schools or utilize public schools, as we choose. But the right to establish private schools does not imply the right to public financial support thereof. . . ."

Oxnam Issues Challenge

A recent radio address by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, in which he placed responsibility for the Congressional stalemate over aid-to-education squarely on the shoulders of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, has elicited no reply from Catholic spokesmen although equal radio time was offered them. The POAU vice-president and Methodist leader was the guest of Ed Hart, radio commentator of station WWDC, Washington. At the close of the broadcast, Hart read a letter from Francis Cardinal Spellman in which the latter declined to speak because of "pressure of many duties."

Bishop Oxnam declared that most Americans deplored the dissension over the federal-aid bills, and that the majority of Roman Catholic parents, whose children attend the public schools, would be shocked "when they learn the hierarchy is responsible for denying their children higher education standards." "Thousands of loyal and able Roman Catholics are teachers in the public schools," he continued. "They will not forget that the much needed salary increase was denied them by the action of the hierarchy. The blind may lead, but the eyes of their followers will be opened."

In a detailed analysis of the political tactics used by the hierarchy, Bishop Oxnam showed that they were indistinguishable from the tactics used by the Communist Party. "We do not appreciate the interference of Pacelli, the head of the Vatican state, nor of Stalin, the head of the Communist state, in our affairs," he said, and warned that a Catholic Party may be formed in America similar to the Catholic parties which already exist in European countries. The separatism fostered by Catholic leaders, he observed, is part of a grand strategy of divide and rule, with the current bottleneck in Congress a glaring example of the practical application of this strategy.

POAU FAVORED 9-3 BY TV JURY

The question, "Should Federal Funds for Education Be Used for Public Schools Only?" was answered with a resounding "Yes!" by the jury which heard Charl Ormond Williams and Joseph M. Dawson, POAU executive committee members, eloquently uphold the affirmative against two distinguished opponents on the television program, "Court of Current Issues," recently. Broadcast from the DuMont Television Studio in the John Wanamaker store, New York City, over WABD and other stations, the program marked the first time that the religious aspect of the federal aid-to-education question was discussed on television.

Spokesmen for the negative were the Rev. John Courtney Murray, S. J., professor of theology at Woodstock College and a leading Roman Catholic editor, and Porter Chandler, prominent attorney. Following court room procedure throughout, the discussion was presided over by Leo Cherne, executive secretary of the Research Institute of America, acting as judge. Each side was cross-questioned by a counsel for the opposing side. The counsel for Miss Williams and Dr. Dawson was Dr. Kenneth W. Greenawalt, a member of the Bill of Rights Committee of the New York Bar Association, and the counsel for Father Courtney and Mr. Chandler was James N. Vaughan, who in his legal practice has fought the issue in the courts.

The jurors, who were selected in groups of three from the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, the United Parents Association, the Kiwanis Clubs of Richmond Hill, Kew Gardens and Forest Hills, and the Lions Club of New Rochelle, voted 9-3 for the affirmative.

Clerical Fascism Comes to Costa Rica

The latest example of what happens when church becomes wedded to state in any land is to be seen in Costa Rica, where a full-fledged corporate state, along the lines of the one which existed in fascist Italy when it was ruled by Benito Mussolini, has just been set up.

Under the "new order" in Costa Rica, all workers have been ordered to join the Rerum Novarum (Catholic) labor federation, and all industrialists, businessmen and farmers are compelled to join special "chambers" for their respective classifications.

Organizations which do not have government sanction are "illegal." The Catholic labor organization is the only one recognized by the government. Federico Saenz, secretary general of the rival Costa Rican Federation of Labor, has been executed along with other leaders, and the organization disbanded.

The only discernible difference between such a government and the government of Czechoslovakia is that one is Catholic, the other Communist.

National Conference Set

On January 31, 1950, historic Constitution Hall will again provide the setting for a major discussion of current threats to American religious freedom, as POAU holds its Second National Conference on Church and State. Plans for the Conference were drawn up by the executive committee at a meeting on September 16 in the national office.

High on the list of vital questions which will be probed in the clear light of this nationally-significant public meeting, as well as at a series of religious liberty rallies in various parts of the country, is the plight of the public school system—still besieged by the Roman Catholic political machine which would divert public funds to foster the growth of the rival parochial school system.

POAU's national leaders are bending every effort to ensure that the Second National Conference on Church and State will surpass the achievements of the first annual conference held by POAU a year ago, when 3,600 persons from every walk of life braved a heavy rainstorm to attend the Constitution Hall gathering, and the entire country was alerted to the approaching crisis of American education and culture.

Believing in the principles and policies of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, I hereby enroll (or reaffirm) as a member.

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Former Dominican Monk Probes Creedal Struggle

Writing in a recent issue of *Presbyterian Life*, George Barrois, who left the Catholic Church in 1941 after 18 years as a priest, offers some very restrained but penetrating observations on the serious differences which stand between Catholics and Protestants in the modern world. Barrois is today a Presbyterian, and teaches theology and biblical archeology at Princeton Theological Seminary.

"We are, like the Roman Catholics," he declares, "dead set against materialism and violence, but before joining Rome's 'crusade,' we want to make sure that we are not going to be dragged into unholy alliances. We do not measure a country by its attitude toward the establishment or disestablishment of the Church, as does Rome in the case of Spain, and we refuse to tie up the cause of Christ to the cause of the prevailing class or political ideology. We finally hope that Rome will refrain from excessive indulgence toward forces of reaction and totalitarian rulers."

"The centralized power of the Roman Catholic Church, its strong international organization, its methods of authority, explain partly its effectiveness. Looking back on our divided Protestantism, we feel, by contrast, weary and powerless. Seeking for a remedy, we may be tempted to copy the methods of the Roman Church, and to play our own game of power politics. I say 'tempted' for this is nothing else than a temptation the temptation of the easy way. We know as Christians that there is really no easy way through the difficulties of an un-Christian world."

Barrois was born in Charleville, France, of Roman Catholic parents and was ordained a priest at the age of 23.

Communism Flourishing in 'Catholic' Lands

The fact that the leading Communist governments of Europe have been established in the so-called "Catholic" countries should not be lost sight of amidst the tensions and fears of the "cold war" between the Communist and non-Communist powers, Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, told the 161st General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. at Buffalo recently. A surprising number of people, he observed, have thoughtlessly taken the position that the Roman Catholic Church is the strongest bulwark against Communism in Europe.

"No program can hope to succeed against Communism that is based on the negative," Dr. Visser 't Hooft said. Communism has overrun European nations largely because the Roman Catholic Church "has traditionally been on the side of power and privilege," he asserted, adding that not a single Communist government in Europe is established in a country with a strong Protestant element. He warned, however, that Protestants must recognize "that Communism is God's judgement upon His Church. Out of the emptiness of their lives these millions cry out and we must hear and answer their cry."

Common Strategy

"We all know that the Church of Rome has a center of strategy in the Vatican," he continued. "Why should not the Reformed Churches of Europe, with a membership numbering 30,000,000, also have a common strategy?"

"We are not anti-Catholic. There are many fine Catholics working side by side with us to build a new life, on the continent of Europe. We want only to preach the gospel of salvation, and we object only when our liberty to preach that gospel is interfered with."

The Rev. Marcel Pradervand, of Geneva, Switzerland, who also addressed the Assembly, enlarged on Dr. Visser 't Hooft's statements, saying that the Protestant and Reformed Churches have "a big job to do" in Europe.

"Though weak numerically in most countries, they represent usually the greatest evangelical force, the force which alone is fighting for the evangelical way of life against the intolerance of Rome and the materialism of Communist philosophy."

"It is not too much to affirm that the future of Europe is bound with the fate of these churches, which are members of the World Presbyterian Alliance."

Mark Twain Joins "Banned" List of New York Schools

The American classic, "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court," has been removed from the list of textbooks approved for New York City schools since 1947. This fact came to light only after a high school teacher who noticed its absence from the list made repeated and pointed inquiries about it.

After some delay, Superintendent of Schools William Jansen confirmed the fact that the book had been removed from the list, but excused the action on the grounds that the particular edition which had been used had gone "out of print." He promised to investigate charges that the book was banned under pressure from the Roman Catholic hierarchy because it contains satiric references to the sixth-century clergy.

Colorado Rules "Released Time" Unconstitutional

An opinion drawn up by the attorney general of Colorado, John W. Metzger, in response to a specific inquiry from the superintendent of Roman Catholic schools in Northern Colorado, holds that the release of public school children for religious instruction on school time is unconstitutional, whether such instruction is given in the public school buildings or elsewhere.

"This program of religious education is unlawful in Colorado," Metzger found, "because the Constitution of the state of Colorado specifically states 'No sectarian tenets or doctrines shall ever be taught in the public schools.'" He explained that the compulsory school attendance law requires "study through a 'school month'—four weeks, and school days—not in excess of six hours per day." This law in no way affects the right of students to be excused from attendance on religious holidays observed by their faiths, he added.

Bavarian Parochial Schools Cause Turmoil

In a recent article on the accomplishments of American educators who have undertaken the difficult task of establishing a democratic school system in occupied Germany, Benjamin Fine, education editor of the *New York Times*, observed:

"Unfortunately, the progress of the experiment is not equal in all communities. In one (Bavarian community), the steering committee is split wide open because of the rivalry between leaders of the public schools and of the Catholic parochial schools."

Unitarians Reaffirm POAU Backing

The 124th annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association, held recently, pledged to resist with its utmost power all encroachments on the separation of church and state, and further resolved to reaffirm its "endorsement of the purposes of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State," and again urged "the Churches of the Association and their members to give support to the movement in the defense of liberty and of democratic principles."

Truman Strives to Make 'Safe' Speeches

"Members of Truman's cabinet," according to the new weekly magazine, *Quick*, "now have all their speeches read by experts on Catholic doctrine. Reason: A series of unintentional misuses that brought a shower of mail on the White House."

Quick does not indicate whether the doctrinal "experts" have been esconced in an office at the White House with an appropriate gilt-edged sign on the door, but the picture is reminiscent of the situation which now exists at the publishing offices of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" in Chicago. An adjoining office has been established, with the following legend on the door: "Catholic Committee on the Encyclopedia Britannica." The editors of the Encyclopedia submit their copy to the neighboring office for censorship.

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"... It has fallen out sometimes that both papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for turns upon these two hinges—that none of the papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship if they practice any."—*Roger Williams*.

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Blanshard to Make Lecture Tour



Paul Blanshard (above), author of the best-selling book, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, will go on a POAU-sponsored lecture tour between October 14 and November 15. He will speak before interested organizations, clubs and groups upon request.

Times, Tribune Censor Themselves for Hierarchy

Two of the best-established and most respected newspapers in America, the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, both gave indication recently that even they can be bullied by a powerfully organized religious hierarchy. The *Times*, without explanation, abruptly cancelled ads which had been placed with it by Beacon Press for Paul Blanshard's significant new book, "American Freedom and Catholic Power." The *Herald Tribune* discharged correspondent M. R. Werner from the staff of the paper's European Edition shortly after his "Report from America" drew the fire of Francis Cardinal Spellman, who, in a letter to Mrs. Ogden Reid, mother of Editor Whitelaw Reid, complained about Werner's reportage of the New York strike of Catholic cemetery workers.

Ironically, the *Herald Tribune*, which on this occasion seems to have censored itself to soothe Cardinal Spellman, recently complained in an editorial that Franco Spain, a Catholic state, is the only Western European country which bans the European edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Dare Subsidized Churches Bite Hand That Feed Them?

"With few exceptions, churches in Europe are subsidized by the state. That is still true today even in the so-called 'peoples' democracies' of the Iron Curtain zone. The big churches do not support themselves. Their cathedrals are maintained by the state. In varying degrees and by various systems their schools, hospitals, and educational institutions are all state subsidized. Today in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria priests and ministers of recognized churches are sometimes literally the salaried officials of the state and almost always, indirectly, employees of the state. None of the big church institutions could maintain itself in the style to which it has become accustomed if it had to depend on private contributions.

"At times in the past this condition has helped the churches enjoying the subsidies. But those were the times when the church receiving the subsidy and the state giving it were more or less in harmony. What is happening in eastern Europe today raises the question whether such a system is ever really good for any church. Today state and churches are in disagreement. Yet the church is the beneficiary of state funds. In effect, the churches of eastern Europe—Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and several Protestant denominations—are all claiming the right to continue receiving funds from states which they, the churches, oppose.

"The only way those churches could establish their complete independence of the states would be to renounce their state subsidies, depart from their cathedrals, their universities, and their episcopal palaces and live exclusively on the contributions of their followers. Then they could be morally independent of the states which they dislike. Some churchmen in eastern Europe favor this course. But many prefer the way of life to which they are accustomed even if it means ultimate compromise with the state. Of course, it does mean ulti-

mate compromise, for no state ever subsidizes an unfriendly organization indefinitely.

"Thus in eastern Europe today the effect of past union between church and state is to deprive the subsidized churches of their full freedom to oppose the government. No man ever criticizes the hand that feeds him as vigorously as if he were not fed by that hand. A state subsidy . . . can be a deadly thing to a church."—Joseph C. Harsch in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

The Church in Ireland

"It is no part of the function of a church to make policemen do its work, and that is precisely what the Church does in Ireland when it works through the State, by means of political lobbying, to tighten up the Licensing Laws, or to enforce a censorship of books, or to control public amusements such as dancing, or to censor the cinema, or to prevent birth control, or to abolish divorce. This is either the spiritual arm abdicating in favor of the temporal, or the spiritual arm pushing the temporal before it."—Sean O'Faolain, in his new book, *THE IRISH, a Character Study*.

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